A Flying Visit to North America's Only Socialist State, Saskatchewan, Page Two

I. F. Stone's Weekly

VOL. III, NUMBER 6 FEBRUARY 28, 1955 WASHINGTON, D. C. 15 CENTS

Harvey's Little Hatchet on Brownell's Cherry Tree

The Senate of the United States never found a stranger way to celebrate Washington's birthday. The main feature was the all-day grilling of the self-confessed perjurer Harvey Matusow by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. This was the second of two days spent in angry interrogation, apparently on the theory that the greatest menace to the internal security of this country was anything which might shake its faith in ex-Communist informers. The day on which as children we were given red cherries and toy hatchets to commemorate the Father of Our Country, who could not tell a lie even when he chopped down papa's favorite cherry tree, was the occasion for a different kind of object lesson. In the person of the dapper Harvey, the nation's regiment of informers were to be taught that they might lie unscathed in the government's witness stand, but woe betide them if they ever got religion and came clean.

Not that Harvey suffered too grievously. On the contrary the consensus of opinion among the reporters who covered the show was that Harvey was in control of the proceedings. His swift rejoinders and tart tongue were too much for the Senators, and there were moments when he seemed a good deal more honest than his interrogators. When Jenner—who has been suffering for months from ideological delirium tremens—suggested that Matusow ought to see a psychiatrist, Harvey answered dryly, "A lot of people should." When the committee's counsel, J. G. Sourwine, wanted to know whether Matusow had gone to a certain party in New York on "oral or written" invitation, Harvey shut him up with, "Usually you don't have written invitations to Greenwich Village garrets."

When McClellan asked Matusow whether he would not like to go to jail and expiate his crimes, Harvey replied that he would be glad to go to jail if the government's other informers went with him. "In other words," McClellan twisted it, "if the government now will undertake to prosecute and to convict all of those who have, presumably, served their country by testifying to this conspiracy of the Communist Party . . . If the government is now ready to prosecute all of those who rendered this service for their country, then you would be willing, maybe, to consider a plea of guilty." Matusow pricked that overblown bubble with, "Sir, I don't think Mr. Paul Crouch has rendered any constructive service to this government by lying under oath, as he has done, nor has Mr. Manning Johnson."

An Inside Glimpse of "Counter-Attack"

Except for Hennings of Missouri, not a Senator on that notorious subcommittee seemed at all interested in eliciting as much information as they could on just how, where and when Matusow had lied. At one point Matusow began to tell of his work as assistant to the editor of "Counter-Attack," which he described mildly as "a blacklisting publication." As an example he said that in 1952 "Counter-Attack" had "compiled a list of people, 'Stars for Stevenson,' for Adlai Stevenson, and these Hollywood stars are now listed in the file of 'Counter-Attack' as left-wingers and controversial, unsuitable people." The chairman, that second-hand Southern McCarthy, Eastland, broke in with "Just a minute. Those Hollywood stars were not candidates for Congress." McClellan was as uninterested when Matusow tried to tell how McCarthy originally planned his attack on the Army for 1952, with material on John J. McCloy and General Donovan.

The one aim of the subcommittee was to discredit and intimidate Matusow, even if at the expense of picturing themselves as gullible idiots. Eastland, who never had the nerve last year to accept Clifford Durr's challenge to pit Durr's word against Paul Crouch's in perjury proceedings, announced in advance that Matusow was a Communist "plant." If so, then Eastland, Jenner, McCarthy, McCarran and the Justice Department were guilty of permitting a Communist undercover agent to smear people with impunity. It follows that if this is true of Matusow, it may be true of Budenz, Crouch, and others of that brigade. Either way you look at it, the Congressional witch-hunters and the Justice Department emerge—those great investigators—with their pants down. Either they were suckers or something close to suborners of perjury.

Just A Brand New Term

Matusow has the Justice Department running around in circles, its dizziness intensified by the confessions of two informers in the Ted Lamb case before the FCC. The Tuesday before Matusow's appearance here, William F. Tompkins, the Assistant Attorney General in charge of hunting subversives, warned the Glen Ridge, N. J., Battalion Forum that all this was a new Communist plot. "They," Tompkins complained of the Communists, "have coined the term 'informer' as a term of opprobrium in characterizing all government witnesses in such cases." This will be news to Funk & Wagnalls.

The next day Attorney General Herbert Brownell who, with good reason (the press dislike the oily dissembler so) rarely calls a press conference, summoned one to explain that he was asking a grand jury to look into the Matusow and FCC cases. A reporter took advantage of the occasion to ask whether Brownell planned ever to do anything about the United Nations request more than a year ago that the Justice Department look into the false testimony of Manning Johnson and Leonard Patterson against Ralph Bunche. Brownell claimed he had never heard of this. It is only when perjurers recant that grand juries are summoned.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Successful Experiment of Which the U.S. Press Has Said Remarkably Little

A Flying Visit to North America's Only Socialist State

A heavy snow was falling across the Canadian border and a sub-zero wind blowing when the plane took off before dawn in Winnipeg. But when we woke up several hours later over Saskatchewan the sky was clear and the sunlight dazzling. Below us and all around as far as the eye could see was an endless, flat, utterly bald, treeless land under snow, the icy prairie of the north. The stewardess brought around a typewritten report that the weather on the ground where we would soon be landing was 11 degrees below zero.

In the sharp clear air it looked as if we were flying only a few feet above the ground until one noticed, here and there, in the far corners of the huge snowy farm country checkerboard, tiny toy red barns and an occasional little scooter bug of a car on the black straight threads of road and realized that we were still several thousand feet up.

Moving westward and downward, we suddenly saw the city of Regina, capital of Saskatchewan, emerge upon the plain, a sprawling city topped with oil refinery stacks belching flame, several "skyscrapers," some shining church spires and the dome of the provincial capital. In the airport were men wearing the broad-brimmed Stetsons of the West, and the high fur hats of the North. There was an Eskimo couple passing through, the woman surprisingly petite and as chic as if just returning from a shopping tour in Paris. Outside the weatherbeaten wooden shack of the "Airport Inn" carried ads for Seven Up and the usual airline limousines waited. The sights driving into town might have been those of the U.S. prairie country anywhere north from Fort Worth to the Dakotas. The broad main streets; the shabby frontier look; the Esso, Safeway and F. W. Woolworth signs; the first-class hotel—this was still the Midwest of Sinclair Lewis, though it had spilled across the Canadian border.

Ancient Ceremonial

Looking down from the press gallery of the marble and carved oak legislative hall in the Provincial Capital that afternoon, one might have imagined that these legislators in their business men's sack-suits, with their flat Midwestern accents, were the kinfolk of Babbitt meeting in any State Capitol west of the Mississippi. But the session opened in the ceremonial that Burke and Gladstone knew. The Sergeant-at-arms in traditional black robes came first, bearing the heavy golden mace, followed by the Speaker in three-cornered hat, white tie and black robe. Edward VII, Queen Victoria and George V looked down in effigy upon the scene, and the bills waiting debate began in antique dignity, "Her Majesty, by and with the consent of the Legislative Assembly of Saskatchewan enacts as follows . . ."

But this was only the more picturesque of the surprises in that chamber. For there sat a very unevenly divided assemblage, arranged in the manner of the British House of Commons, the government's supporters on one side, the opposition facing them on the benches opposite. On these were only eleven men—ten Liberals and one Progressive-Conservative. But on the government benches sat 41 men and one woman, elected by the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, Canada's "third party," a Socialist, Cooperative and Labor party, which has won three successive elections in the Province since 1944.

The ancient ceremonial and the Rotarian look of the legislators could not have been more deceptive. This bare and lonely land, one of the prairie provinces of Canada (its Indian name from the Saskatchewan river), a province not much smaller than Texas with a population less than that of Cleveland, Ohio, or Washington, D. C. (252,000 square miles; 831,000 people) is the only Socialist State or Province in all North America. In this Province which extends 400 miles westward along the border of our Dakotas and Montana, and almost 800 miles north to the sub-arctic wilderness, is a government which has developed the most elaborate social services and the most advanced labor legislation on the Continent, and gone further than any other in the direction of publicly owned enterprises.

The Canadian Commonwealth Federation was born in Regina in 1933, offspring of that same Farmer-Labor movement which developed after World War I in the drought and depression haunted prairie wheatlands on both sides of the border. Indeed, three of the Ministers in the Saskatchewan government, the Ministers of Agriculture (Hon. I. C. Nollet), of Municipal Affairs (Hon. L. F. McIntosh), and of Publications (Hon. J. W. Burton), are native-born Americans, immigrants respectively from Montana, North Dakota and Kansas. Saskatchewan politically indicates what our prairie country might have become if New Deal reforms and big business control of the American mind and the means of reaching it had not shrivelled our native radical and socialist movements.

Space-Time Travel

For me the visit to Regina was like one of those science fiction stories where the hero is suddenly transported through time. To leave witch hunt Washington at 1 p.m. on a Thursday, a capital in which I sometimes feel like a pariah and a leftover, and arrive early next day in a capital where the Premier graciously had me to lunch with three of his Cabinet Ministers and where the governing party sponsored my appearance at a public lecture, was an experience. So was talking to an audience indistinguishable from small-town

(Continued on Page Three)

Two Significant Excerpts From His Annual Messages to the Provincial Parliament

Premier Douglas of Saskatchewan on Peace in Asia and Civil Liberty

". . . it is of very little use to speak of political democracy to the millions of people of Asia who have never known anything about political democracy. What they can understand is food, clothing, medical supplies and technological equipment that will enable them to raise their standard of living. We speak of political democracy as though it is something they once enjoyed or that they even understood. Lord Boyd-Orr, the British nutritionist, said, as a result of his survey, that two-thirds of the people of Asia have never in their lives known what it is to go to bed on a full stomach . . . What is happening in Asia today is that a great revolution is taking place. Hundreds of millions of people who have been subjugated and exploited by the white man for centuries are now throwing off the yoke. We can do one of two things. We can try to understand their problems; we can try to help them out of their economic and social difficulties; or we can blunder into a war with them that will devastate the whole world . . . Before we condemn China we ought to sit down with China and give her a place among the nations of the world."

"My hope, my plea for Saskatchewan is that we shall keep hysteria out of this province. I hope that this province will be an island of tolerance and good-will in a sea of turbulent hysteria and suspicion. I hope that in this province there will be a haven of neighborliness in which we will give to all men, and to all classes, and to all creeds, and to all colors, the same rights and the same civil liberties that we ask for ourselves. I want to say that as long as this government sits here, there will be no infringement of civil liberties in Saskatchewan and there will be no witch-hunting and there will be no red-baiting."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

***Memo to Prof. Einstein:* Master Plumbers Now Face The Same Trouble**

The Case of the Second-Hand Piano Dealer Is Not At All Funny

In the District of Columbia, as in many American municipalities, a wide range of occupations and professions require police licenses based on findings of good character. Here in the District (we hate to disillusion dear Prof. Einstein) master plumbers are on the list. So are physicians and barbers, druggists and bus drivers, fortune tellers, masseurs and second hand dealers. Some two dozen callings are included.

This is what makes our local Case of the Second Hand Piano Dealer a serious matter for business and professional men all over the country. The case raised an international laugh when William Shonick, a loyalty purged music teacher, was refused renewal of his license to sell second hand pianos. Should his appeal be lost, the precedent will be no joke, but a lever to deprive many others of their businesses and livelihood.

The ex-teacher, William Shonick, has just won the first round of his appeal from adverse action by the police. Charles W. Hart, a local lawyer, as hearing officer for the Board of Appeals & Review of the D. of C. Dept. of Licenses, has written a preliminary proposed decision for the Board reversing the police authorities. This is in some ways a remarkably enlightened document, but there is no assurance that the Board will accept it. A long Federal court fight is a distinct possibility.

Slapping Down the Attorney General

One of the most enlightened and courageous parts of the Hart decision is its treatment of the police allegations that Shonick attended a meeting of the United Negro and Allied Veterans addressed by Paul Robeson and a meeting of the Washington Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights to raise funds for the defense of Smith Act victims. The police cited the fact that the Attorney General (later) put both these organizations on his blacklist.

Hart ruled, "The Attorney General's findings are based on *ex parte* investigations and do not rise above the status of accusations." A police investigator had testified that Shonick had "figured consistently" in certain groups, described as "those groups which have some particular racial or religious appeal to certain groups"—just that vaguely. "A witness's conclusions from, or generalized summary of, data in secret files," Hart ruled, "cannot be received as substantive evidence."

But Shonick's counsel, Forer & Rein, is filing exceptions to that portion of the Hart decision which says a license hearing examiner may infer from a refusal to answer that an applicant is a Communist. Shonick had twice refused, once invoking the 5th Amendment before the House Un-American Activities Committee, the second time on advice of counsel in the original license interrogation. On that occasion Shonick did not invoke the 5th but claimed the question was irrelevant.

What Kind of Character?

Though upholding the right to infer that Shonick was a Communist, Hart upheld his contention that the question was irrelevant. "That good character reasonably required of an applicant for a second hand dealer's license," Hart ruled, "is such as will dispose him to comply with the statutes and police regulations relating to second hand dealers and not to be a receiver of stolen goods."

Hart held that while as a Communist Shonick could not be held entirely of good character, he was "sufficiently good" to be a second hand piano dealer. To hold otherwise, Hart wrote, would be to decide that Communists could be refused the right to engage in any of the businesses or professions on the licensing list. This, he said, would be "clearly beyond the scope of any delegated authority under the police power."

Saskatchewan, Where the CCF Has Been in Power for 11 Years

(Continued from Page Two)

America in appearance, but for which socialism was not an indiscreet and dangerous term but an honorable and inspiring word. I felt at home.

I ran into fellow Americans who feel the same way. Two centuries ago Americans fled across the Canadian border in flight from the revolution. A new generation seems to be trickling across it in flight from the witch hunt. There are a couple dozen American technicians and doctors who have settled down to work for the government in Saskatchewan after service in the American government and in UN agencies became unbearable. They find the same kind of atmosphere in the Province that they once enjoyed in New Deal and Fair Deal Washington. Among the good people I met after the public meeting—including a delegation of *Weekly* readers who came by bus from Moose Jaw forty miles away—there was that same combination of evangelical Christianity and socialist thinking which was characteristic of American radicalism a generation ago.

A Canadian FDR

The Premier, T. C. "Tommy" Douglas, just turned 50, is a younger Norman Thomas, a Thomas who came to power, a Thomas unsoured by the experience of seeing much of his program stolen by a major party while he himself was left in a corner to wage bitter Lilliputian quarrels with the Communists. As a poor Scottish immigrant boy, Douglas earned his living as a printer, decided to enter the Baptist ministry, became a champion debater and boxer at college, was ordained in 1930 but shifted to politics with his election as a CCF member to the Canadian House of Commons in 1935. His leadership carried the party to power in Saskatchewan in 1944. When M. J. Coldwell, the national leader of the party, a man very much like the gentle and moderate Attlee, retires, the more militant "Westerner" Douglas may take his place. The Premier of Saskatchewan may yet be the Prime Minister of Canada.

At the newsstand in the hotel where I had lunch with the Premier, there was displayed the local daily paper with screaming page one headlines, "Totalitarian State Alleged"—by a Liberal member of Parliament denouncing regulation of fishing and trapping activity in the north. The conversation was less melodramatic. The Provincial Treasurer, the Hon. Clarence Melvin Fines, spoke of the prejudice encountered by a Socialist government in marketing its bonds and the limitations on attempting a Socialist program in a Province without the support of the Federal government's sovereign fiscal powers. The Minister of Education, the Hon. Woodrow Stanley Lloyd, himself a school teacher by profession, sketched the problems of education in a province where population density is less than four per square mile and so many children live on distant and isolated farms.

The Minister of Agriculture, Hon. I. C. Nollet, a veteran of the American army in World War I, touched on his earlier experience in the Farmer-Labor movement. The Premier himself covered a wide range of international and local problems—from the making of peace with the new China in the Far East through the question of "McCarthyism" to the experience of his government in running such experimental businesses as a shoe factory, a brick kiln and a woolen mill. There was a sober idealism impressively combined with a grasp of exact detail and a remarkable knowledge of American and world affairs. In Douglas, the same rare combination of the intellectual and the practical politician, Canada may yet find an FDR of its own. I hope to write again soon of Saskatchewan and the CCF.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Poor Mark Hanna; Lesson for Poland; Tito's Oblique Rebuke; Pravda and India

When the Standpat Farm Bureau Federation Urges East-West Trade

East-West Trade: State and Agriculture are at loggerheads over East-West trade. The Secretary of Agriculture, though a thorough reactionary, has been looking hungrily for some time at the possibilities of selling farm surpluses to the Soviet bloc. The strength of the desire for farm business with the Soviets was indicated when Charles B. Shuman, newly elected president of the standpat Farm Bureau Federation, made his first press conference here the occasion for demanding an end of economic warfare bars against sales to the U.S.S.R. Shuman objected to the State Department's thumbs down on butter exports to Moscow.

In the advance text of the reply to Robert M. Hutchins made by Representative Carroll Reece of Tennessee at the National Press Club last Wednesday, it was not too surprising to see Laski referred to as "Prof. *Howard* J. Laski, the top philosopher of the British Socialist Party." But when Reece warmed up on the menace of Fabian socialism, it was sad to see the declaration that tax-exempt funds should not be used "to propagandize for the theories of either Karl Marx or Mark *Hannah*." What hope is left for free enterprise when an old fashioned Republican like Reece, who spells Marx's name correctly, stumbles over the spelling of McKinley's mentor, the business man-politician who once symbolized all that was "safe and sound" in the G.O.P.? Could it be that Reece, too, is an unwitting victim of progressive education?

For the eyes of our few readers in the Soviet States, and for radicals in the West silly enough to dismiss our fundamental liberties as "bourgeois," we want to dwell for a moment on the barbarous story told by Hermann Field in London on his five years' imprisonment without trial in Poland on charges the government admits "mistaken." Were it not for the defection of the former Polish police chief, Josef Swiatlo, Field might still be rotting in his cellar prison, his whereabouts unknown. The Polish government sought to make amends by paying him $50,000 and the cost of his convalescence in Switzerland. It owes it to itself and the good name of socialism to do something more and that is calmly to examine this case and act upon what it demonstrates. Were there *habeas corpus* in Poland, the right to a statement of charges, the right to counsel, the right to bail, the right to trial, this "mistake" might have been corrected five years ago and Poland saved the shame of it. How many obscure citizens in the Soviet States have suffered just such false imprisonment, privation and worse because of just such "mistakes" by the secret police? When will they institute basic reforms instead of intermittent shake-ups?

Add Subversive Documents

"A few days ago . . . a group of state employes—not in Missouri—charged with responsibility for determining what announcements could be posted on the employees' bulletin board refused to permit the Bill of Rights to be posted on the ground that it was a controversial document . . . Only after the Governor in writing vouched for its non-controversial character was the Bill of Rights permitted to occupy a place along with routine items of interest to the state employes. And this happened in the U.S.A. on the 15th day of December, 1954, the 163rd anniversary of our Bill of Rights . . . It is straws in the wind like this which cause some thoughtful people to ask the question whether ratification of the Bill of Rights could be obtained today if we were faced squarely with the issue."

—Chief Justice Warren, at St. Louis, Feb. 19

Good Sense from Tito: "It is wrong, and this in my opinion has become too much the rule in the foreign policies of too many countries today," Marshal Tito said in a speech Feb. 12 on his return to Belgrade, "to view the peaceful moves of one country as a sign of her weakness and then sharpen relations even more; and, when there is some reaction as the result of this policy, to say: 'You see, we were right when we said one cannot do anything with them.' Every voice making towards a relaxation of tension should be accepted and tested and 'only maneuvers' should not be seen in everything that has been put forward."

Some Odd Aspects of the Andhra Elections in India: the Christians generally support the Communists because in Andhra they are untouchables and landless, with the natural resentment of the caste-less against the Congress Party. Many wealthy landlords support the Communists because the Congress Party in Andhra is backed by a sub-caste with which the landlords have an ancient feud. Despite Nehru's good relations with Peking and Moscow, the national executive of the Congress party decided to campaign by linking the local Communists with the Russian and Chinese regimes, and accusing the latter of crimes against humanity. The Russians turned the other cheek. To the dismay of the local Communists, *Pravda* ran an article praising the achievements of the Congress Party in the Central government of India, especially in economic development. And the *Pravda* article was at once telegraphed from New Delhi to Andhra, where Moscow's praises were quoted by the anti-Communist candidates!

N.Y.C. Readers Are Invited to the "Coffee Klatsch" with IFS This Fri. Night at the Newspaper Guild, 133 W. 44th

I. F. Stone's Weekly, 301 E. Capitol, Wash. 3, D. C.

Please renew (or enter) my sub for the enclosed $5:*

Name_____

Street_____

City _____ Zone____ State____

Enter this gift sub for $4 more (money enclosed):

(To) Name_____

Street_____

City _____ Zone____ State____

* $1 extra for Canada. 2/28/55

I. F. Stone's Weekly
Room 205
301 E. Capitol St., S.E.
Washington 3, D. C.

NEWSPAPER

Entered as
Second Class Mail
Matter
Washington, D. C.
Post Office

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED